621 754 596 own huts to protect them against would-be-witches. In this way many villages are broken up by fear of witchcraft. Generally speaking the Thonga village cannot long remain of any considerable size ; it tends to fall to pieces.

But there are other causes which may destroy the village and the idyllic life of the small community. The death of the headman, and lightning striking the village, are the two main causes which may bring about this event.

765 596 621 787 *Death of the headman.* There is a mystic tie between this man and the social organism which is under him. Should he die, the village dies also... It is not abandoned at once. The whole year of mourning will elapse before the moving. But as soon as the widows and property have been distributed, the successor of the deceased will go and found his own village and the old one will remain a ruin (rumbi). Should any one else die, his hut will merely be thrown into the bush and the village will not be abandoned. But should these deaths increase, then the divinatory bones may order the place to be deserted, as it is defiled and dangerous.

821 756 787 621 If *lightning* strikes the hubo, it is a very bad omen. The medicine man who has the power to "treat the place struck by lightning" is called in. Should he be able to exhume from the ground the mysterious bird which causes lightning, or at least the coagulated urine which it has deposited, and which is called Heaven (See Part VI), the people are allowed to stay. But if he does not discover it deep down in the soil, the village must move, as the presence of the mysterious power of Heaven inside the circle of huts would bring disaster. This is a taboo.

621 787 596 Another cause of moving is the *exhaustion of the gardens.* When the fields are "tired" (karala) and do not produce sufficient food for the inhabitants, they leave the place and look for pastures new. In that case the bones will be consulted. Sometimes, even, the village may be transported elsewhere for the sole reason that the people are tired of the place and want to change. If the bones confirm their wishes, they will move.

621 596 *The founding of a new village* is the occasion of most interesting and characteristic rites, which afford us a new insight into the

621 831 all this is done in fun. It is a great day of rejoicing for the "tinamu", who tease each other as much as they like. A man may be wanting in respect even to his great mukonwana on these days!

621 756 337 789 6) When the huts are ready, the *fence* is built. The family doctor is summoned. The medicine man throws leaves or stones treated with his drugs along the circular line, where the headman intends to place the branches which will form the future fence of the village. This being done, the men erect the fence.

7) Special precautions are taken for *the main entrance*. Poles are erected on both sides, but before they are put in place, the doctor pours medicine into the holes in the ground and also smears the poles with it at the bottom and at the top. Mankhelu used to bury a black stone, taken out of the river, at the gate. This stone had also been smeared with drugs. "In this way, I prevent enemies from entering. Those who come to try their charms against us (ku hi ringa hi maringo) will be attacked by disease and go and die in their houses."

783 834 621 8) The building is finished. Nothing remains to be done but to *ripen the village* (wupfisa muti). Men and women assemble in two separate groups and ask each other if they have been continent during the whole "buhlapfa". If one of them confesses to having sinned, he has stolen the village from the headman; the whole work is spoiled and must be recommenced elsewhere. If all the members of the community have behaved well, they proceed to a purifying ceremony exactly similar to the *hlamba ndjaka* which takes place during the mourning ceremonies. Each couple has sexual relations according to a fixed order of precedence, one every night, and they all go to trample on the spot where the women wash their hands. The principal wife is the last to perform these rites.

621 595 9) Then comes the *drawing to himself of the village by the headman* (kokotela muti). At dawn, after the night when she has had her ritual sexual relations with the headman, his principal wife takes his shield and his assagais and stands at the main entrance, everyone being present. Outside is a thorny branch prepared for the occasion. In her martial attire, she drags this branch to the entrance and closes it.

l: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

621 gathered in a heap. The headman, on the advice of the medicine
789 man, cuts from certain very vigorous trees such as the nkanye
824 and the ntjondjo, two branches which can live when transplanted. He digs holes on both sides of the entrance and puts the branches into them. Across the gateway, he buries a third branch of the ntjopfa tree, "which causes oblivion" (p. 58): this will be smeared with special drugs in order to increase its efficacy ; it is intended to prevent the baloyi, witches and people speaking bad words. (lit "with bad lips"), from thinking about the village and spoiling it.

621 7) On the evening of that day, the headman and his principal
833 wife have intercourse in their hut and, at dawn, while it is still
789 dark, they go and wash their hands at the main entrance. Mboza does not say that all the other couples must do the same, or trample on the spot. In Nondwane this is sufficient and the rite does not apply to the other couples. But at Manyisa, midway between Lourenço Marques and Khosen, where the Djonga customs are sometimes met with, all the couples must have relations, one after the other, according to order of precedence. It is deemed so important to keep the due order in this "giving to each other the right of resuming sexual life" that, should an elder brother have been absent when the village moved, on his return he must undergo a special treatment in a neighbouring village, during a few days, to avoid any bad consequences resulting from having been unlawfully "preceded" (rangeliwa).

621 8) After the night during which the sexual rite has taken
789 place, at daybreak, all the dried grass is piled in front of the
782 main hut and burnt ritually. The headman throws into the
756 fire a special medicinal pill in order to *give the village over* to his people (nyiketa muti). They all warm their bodies at the blaze, and go and set fire to all the other heaps of dried grass which they made when clearing the soil.

9) The medicine man comes on that same day, and sprinkles the fence with his drugs, in order to protect the village against bush fires, wizards and disease. He walks all round the fence saying : "Happy village! May misfortune not enter here! These are my drugs!" — He starts from one of the poles of the main

621 789 782 756 entrance and finishes his walk at the other, hanging upon it the branch with which he has been sprinkling.

10) Then he sacrifices a hen. A young man accompanying him cuts its throat ; the doctor plucks some feathers from the neck, sacrifices in the ordinary way and invokes his gods : "You used to treat villages (daha miti) with these drugs and I do the same. I do not act of my own wisdom ; you have given it to me. Bless this place, etc." Then he plucks a feather from the hen's right wing, and suspends it at the main entrance or in the main hut, inside, over the door, according to the directions given by the bones. This is the *shirungalo* (see Part VI) and the act is called : "to tie the village" (tjimba muti).

621 372 784 789 198 Amongst the Rongas, there are some other *buhlapfa taboos*. It is not allowable to light any fire in a village until it is completely built. During the whole building period, cooking is done outside the fence ; crushing mealies in the mortars and dancing are also prohibited. Whistling (ku ba noti) is forbidden, as it might call the wizards inside the village before it has been protected by the charms.

621 595 If a man has many wives, he may build a second village for himself and establish one of them there. A grown-up son, the son of the woman, will represent the headman in that village, but the law of "tying the village" will also be observed in this case. The headman will perform the act with this woman, and preside at the burning of the dried grass and of the medicinal pill, by which he gives the village to the inhabitants.

When a younger brother, or a son, leaves the headman and founds a village for himself (tihambela muti), he does it according to the same laws as those observed at the regular moving of a village.

III. *Some remarks on the rules of moving.*

621 Let us now analyse the two parallel sequences of rites which we have just described, and which complete each other. It is easy to discover amongst them three series of rites, social, protective and passage rites.

765
535 way that all the men can see her pudenda which is
831 much tabooed (that is, sinful)."]
834 "Annotatio undecima (P. 161). Hic, mulier paulo dilutiore
765 colore magnaque statura addit: 'Hi kundjana, id est:
782 coeamus!' "

[Note 11 (page 161). Here a woman with a slightly lighter color and of large stature, adds: Hi kundjana, that is, "let us have intercourse!"]

841 "Annotatio duodecima (P. 187). Hæc sunt ipsissima verba, quibus Makhelu mulieris menstruansis taboo (id est nefas) describit. Mulier menstruans est res, quæ imprimis 'yila' est. Per sex dies 'yila,' id est, nefas est. Septimo die transit flumen ad se lavandam. Octavo ei nondum licet cum marito suo coire; forte enim sanguis pudendis ad hæret, eà insciente. Magis 'refrigescit.' (Verbo phula menstruans mulier comparatur cum aula a foco remota).

Si, ante id tempus, maritus cum uxore cœat, ægrotus fiat, veretrum retro ita recedat ut vir urinam reddere non possit et, brevi tempore, moriatur. Talem vitæ exitum multi habuerunt. Radicibus arboris cui nomen est mayilana vel mulieris menstruantis vestis particulà, a medico ad levem pulverem redactà, quæ ægro bibenda est, morbus sanari potest. Aegrotus multum sanguinis reddet, et veretro exeunte, salvus est."

[Note 12 (page 187). These are the very words with which Makhelu [sic] describes the taboo (that is, the sin) of the menstruating woman. A menstruating woman is something which is, first of all, yila. For six days she is yila, that is to say, taboo. On the seventh day, the flow that cleanses her passes over. On the eighth day she is not yet allowed to have intercourse with her husband; for perhaps some blood is still sticking to her pudenda without her knowledge. She "cools down" even more so. (By the word phula the menstruating woman is compared to the pot removed from the stove.)

841 If the husband should have sexual intercourse with his wife
834 before this time, he will be taken sick, his private parts will
756 decay to such an extent that the man would no longer be able to pass urine and would die within a brief period of time. Many have had such an end to their life. The sick man can be cured by a liquid containing the roots of the tree that is called mayilana or by a particle of the menstruating woman's dress, reduced to a light powder by the medicine man. The sick man loses a lot of blood; after his penis is able to pass water again, the man is well again.

595 in cerevisiam injiciunt.
833 Quod medicamentum ad gravia vulnera curanda quoque
842 conferunt, et liberis praebent cum caput ut cynocephali jactant."

[Note 14 (page 285). Doctor G. Liengmei, our physician, often took care of men who asked for medicine that would produce children. They confessed to him that they often slept with three or four wives in one single night. (From some monogamous men we heard that a wife would get so tired that she would go out at night to work just to escape from her husband.) When the doctor told them to abstain altogether from intercourse for five days they were never able to agree to that. For they wanted to regain their generative faculty without giving up their lust. They are said to employ certain remedies even when their powers no longer appear equal to their desires, either in order to excite their sexual desire or to make their wives pregnant. There is a two-fold remedy. First, a man cuts the testicles off a goat--(this animal does not tire, it is asserted, mbuti a yi karali)--and boils them mixed with numerous herbs; then he eats them. Next he collects other herbs and puts them into his beer. They claim that this has such an effect that the man who has no more than two wives should not use this remedy [520] lest, because his own would not be enough for him, he should commit fornication with the wives of others, which would be a grave offense on his part.

595 Virtuous men such as one can find in the village of Mpfumo sleep in their own houses and call for the wife whom they desire. Most of them have imposed upon themselves the law not to let any discord break out among their wives; therefore they spend one month in turn in the house of a particular wife.

595 Those who have several wives use still other remedies to
756 excite their sexual desire. Of these remedies they believe
833 one to be particularly effective: The medicine man, after
278 he has rested, retreats into the hills where the female baboons are wont to emit their urine mixed with the menstrual blood. That which remains on the rocks and which gives off an abominable smell the medicine man takes up and boils; from this he makes large pills that he sells to all buyers. The latter put them into their beer.

They also use this remedy to cure grave wounds, and they give it to their children when they shake their heads like baboons.]

000 Annotatio quinta decima (P. 477). Veretro fabricatur pulvis, cuius effectus mirabilis est. Qui, bellatorum carpis

your food a little of the earth of the country which you have left ; this will provide the transition between the old and the new domicile (See I. p. 49). 823

Metals known to the tribe before the coming of the Whites were few. (See page 137). *Nhumbu* or *nsimbi*, iron, *nsuku*, copper, and *ntchopfa*, a name applied to all white metals (tin, silver, etc.) are the only Native names for metals. There is no word for gold. 135

V. *The Vegetable World. Thonga Botany.*

While Bantus possess a very limited knowledge of Astronomy, Geography, Mineralogy, etc., while their ideas in these domains are in no way deserving of the name of Science, they are much more advanced as regards Plants. Here it is quite allowable to speak of a Science, a rudimentary Science, no doubt, but a true, precise knowledge which has been transmitted from past ages and which denotes a real power of observation. 815

The Delagoa flora is not very rich. I have succeeded in collecting between four and five hundred different kinds in a herbarium which I sent many years ago for classification to the Herbier Boissier in Geneva. In February 1893, before forwarding the second lot of exsiccata, I gathered together some Natives of Rikatla in the hut which I had pompously styled a Museum and, having promised them 1 s. each if they consented to remain till the end of the examination, I submitted the dried plants to them, asking them their names, their uses, etc. The result of the inquiry was marvellous. My areopagus did not seem to be a very choice one : an old woman, as dry as my exsiccata and smoking her pipe, another with ochre-smeared hair, a young one, with a baby on her shoulder, an elderly one-eyed man named Hamunde, my milkman. After them came the young chief Muzila, walking slowly, swinging the tails of his belt. This chief, notwithstanding his social rank, showed gross ignorance of botany ; but some of the others knew the name of almost every plant ; had I had a *ñanga*, a medicine-man, amongst them, I am sure I should have obtained 137 124 815 815 750 824

the names of all the specimens of the collection, for they are the great connoisseurs in this domain, their drugs being almost entirely obtained from the vegetable world.

A study of these names undoubtedly proves that Natives have the notion of the *genus*. This had been denied ; it seems that, when naming animals, Bantus distinguish correctly between species, but do not classify species into genera. In Botany it is not so. Under the same name they bring together forms which are sometimes widely different, but which belong to the same genus. Here are some of these names.

Tsuna means fern and applies to the Acrostichum tenuifolium, which climbs up the palm trees in the marsh, as well as to the few other kinds of Filicea found in the district of Lourenço Marques ; *gonhwa* is the name for Liliaceae, many kinds of which blossom in the spring : the Crinum Forbesii, with its big white and pink flower, and other kinds forming a bowl at the extremity of the stem ; there are five kinds of Commelina in my collection, which were called *Nkompfana*, both those with blue flowers, and the yellow ; a certain Papillionaceae genus, the Eriosema, is called *Rongole*. All the Strigae, a genus of the Scrophulariaceae family, are known under the name of *Shitshinyambita*, those which prevent the pot from boiling, as they are believed to have this effect when put into the fire. The Lobeliae are called *Shilawana*, etc.

The notion of the *genus* is so truly present that Thongas distinguish between various species in the same genus. So the tree called *Nkahlu*, an Apocynea, the Tabaernaemontana ventricosa, a valuable tree whose sap is used as a styptic, and whose roots are used to make a decoction for lung complaints, has a congener, found in the palm-tree marsh, the Voacanga Dregei, which is called *Nkahlutjobo*, nkahlu of the marsh. The two genera are very closely akin to each other.

Cognate species found in various regions are thus distinguished by the mention of their habitat, either the hill (ntlhaba), or the black earth (nyaka), or the forest (mutju). There is the *Muhlu wa ntlhaba*, of the hill, and *Muhlu-tjhobo*, of the marsh (Secamone sp. tree of the Asclepiadaceae family). This is even more striking

hlulawumbe grows, (Hlulawumbe means to overcome others) (1). 000

Offerings of the Medicine-men. The Native physicians are, as has already been pointed out, very pious. Their art having been handed down to them by their forefathers, as a family secret, they always implore the blessing of their ancestors on their various treatments. This is done by true offerings, performed with the *tsu* and a liturgical prayer. In Vol. I. p. 55, the religious ceremony which accompanies the monthly vapour bath administered to infants was described ; a religious rite takes place also in the hondola of the weaning (I. p. 59). These are typical cases. Another offering of the same nature is made on behalf of the man who is about to *start out on a journey*, for instance to Johannesburg. The doctor, having prepared the protective drugs in a pot, brings them to the entrance of the traveller's hut, and calls his "patient,"; then, taking a little of the decoction in his mouth, he spits it at him with the sacramental *tsu*, and prays in the following words : 782 756 484

Akhwari! Abusayi! Ndji hlaya psolepso! Khongelwa a nga dlawi. Ku dlawa phalaburena! Khombo a dji suke, dji ya ka Shiburi, dji ya ka Nkhabelane! A a fambe psinene, a kandjetela balala, mitwa mi yetlele, ku yetlela ni tindjau. A a ye nwa mati ya kone, ma mu tjhabisa hi djo tluka ledji.

Gently! Smoothly! I say so. Death does not come to him for whom prayer is made ; death only comes to him who trusts in his own strength! Let misfortune depart, let it go to Shiburi, and Nkhabelane (2). Let him travel safely ; let him trample on his enemies ; let thorns sleep, let lions sleep ; let him drink water wherever he goes, and let that water make him happy, by the strength of this leaf (viz., of my medicinal herbs).

(1) I may mention here another religious ceremony which is also called a mhamba, though I am not sure that a regular prayer is offered. It is the *Offering of a Stone.* Stones are almost totally lacking in Thongaland. But on the Swazi border, in the Lebombo hills, there are porphyreous rocks, and when a Native passes a certain spot, on the Estatsen road, he picks up a stone, spits on it, touches both his knees with it and throws it on a heap made of the stones thrown by those who passed before him. This heap of stones is called *shtittane.* This rite is said to be performed in order to call a blessing on the journey ; thus the traveller will find a favourable reception in the villages and be given plenty of food. This custom is wide-spread in many other tribes. 135 823 782 484

(2) The extremity of the land (Comp. I, p. 55).

782 To these words is generally added an invocation to the medicine-
756 man's gods, who are entreated to bless the drugs they have given
484 to their descendant, and to join with the traveller's gods in order to insure his success in this undertaking. The decoction is then used to wash the body of the young man. He will pay the fee on his return home.

224 *Offerings of Hunters.* This is called *byalwa bya ngenge*; the beer
782 of ngenge. This beer is made of maize grains which have been
273 crushed but not softened by long steeping in water, as is generally done in brewing ; they are then reduced to flour ; some water is poured on this and it is offered in that form by the head hunter, all his companions standing near him. They must start at once ; there is therefore no time to brew proper beer.

484 *Offerings of Travellers.* These also have their particular mhamba,
782 which is called *Lehika*. It consists of water alone which the officiant takes in his mouth and spits out, saying : "*Pff!*" (amongst the Hlengwes : "*Phaaa*"). "My ancestor-gods! May I find no difficulty
578 on my road, etc." This *water offering* is also made by a headman
782 whose village is troubled by endless disputes. The way of bringing them to an end is not clear. So he entreats his gods to "open the road, pfula ndlela," so that all hearts may be relieved. This will help him to "herd his village, ku byisa muti." The idea of finding a road clearly accounts for the fact that this offering is made under two sets of circumstances so different from one another. Why water is used to attain this end I do not know.

The offerings hitherto described bear a more or less individual character. Let us now consider those which are in direct relation to the life of the family.

782 *Regular Family Sacrifices.* We have seen these performed in
842 connection with the most important events in life. At the *weaning* (I. p. 58, this might however be termed a medical sacrifice), *on the marriage day*, either publicly, as amongst the Ronga clans (I. p. 110), or privately, by the bride's father alone, as is the custom amongst the Nkunas (I. p. 118). The gods are entreated to give the newly married woman "timbeleko," births, i. e., children, as it seems that the power of begetting depends directly
000 on the gods. Regular acts of worship are performed also at the

845 starvation, or strangled by a rope. It was buried in a broken
847 pot, like other infants (I. p. 165), just below the surface of the
766 ground, a hole being left for the air to enter, so that the "spirit (moya) may go out," in order that, for the mother also, the "spirit may get out," may be able to fly out and not close (the passages), this being a primary condition of her having other children (1).

845 But even the death of one of the twins is not considered sufficient
756 to remove the curse. Directly after birth a particular doctor is
783 sent for, who keeps the drugs needed in such a case. Shimhuntana and Manganyele were the medicine-men who were capable of dealing with the twin defilement in the district of Lebombo, and Nwashihuhuri of the Matimela family in the Zihlahla clan. They were held only to be surpassed by the medicine-man who treated cases of leprosy. The mother has to leave the village immediately, and they build for her a miserable little hut behind the others, where she goes to live with her twins. Her former hut is burnt with all her possessions.

In *Zihlahla*, all the women assemble that same day and start out in all directions, North, South, East and West to draw water in old calabashes from all the lakes and wells of the neighbourhood. They go skipping along, and singing

"Mbelele ! Mbelele ! Let rain fall"

This is the mbelele song (p. 318).

Then they return. The mother is seated with her two babes in her arms. They throw the water over her, intoning all the while the same monotonous refrain. This ceremony is to begin the removal of the "misfortune of twin birth, which is a death," (khombo dja lihahla, dji nga lifu). To complete the purification the magician gives to the father and mother a certain drug, which is kept in the Matimela family. The mother will put some of this into the little milombyana calabash, containing the diet-drink of newly born infants.

In *Khosen* the purification is performed by the medicine-man

(1) Even if a child dies at the age of ten days or more, if it is buried in the ground, its grave must be quite shallow ; for if it were buried too deep the mother would have no other children.

alone (See *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 414). He pours his drugs into one of the pots brought by the women, adds to them the psanyi of the goat sacrificed for the occasion, and pours all the contents on to the shoulders of the mother, who holds the babes in her lap. After this he pours from some other pot, which contains pure water, and the woman conscientiously washes herself and her children all the while. Until her purification no inhabitant of the village is allowed to eat anything, and the following day it is taboo to work in the fields, for this would prevent the rain from falling. 845 756 783

Amongst the *Nkuna*, the mother of twins sits at the entrance of the hut, and the drug is poured over the roof above the doorway; it leaks through the thatch on to her, and thus both the mother and the hut are purified at the same time.

This preliminary purification being thus accomplished, the woman goes to live in "her shelter," outside the village. She is absolutely shut off from all the other inhabitants. She has her own pots, axe, mortar, pestle, and does all her own cooking. Nobody even pays her a visit, and people only speak to her from a distance. Her children see no one but her. To each is allotted one breast, always the same. To help her in the nursing of twins the mother must "buy" a girl, to whom the care of one of the children is committed. This is a law. It is taboo for a girl, even should she be the elder sister, to "play" with a twin. The payment of £ 1 or ten shillings removes this taboo and the defilement (shisila) connected with it. 845 853 [671] [784]

Women fear that, if they touch anything belonging to the mother of twins, if they smear themselves with her provision of fat, or if the defiled one smears herself with their fat, they will also incur the dreadful misfortune of giving birth to twins. For this reason it is taboo for a mother of twins to draw water except at a certain spot. She must select one place and always go there. When she returns from drawing water, she must pay attention to the little wreath of grass which she wears on her head to help her balance her pot; it must not be thrown away with those used by other women, for fear that they also should become contaminated (tekela). 845 784

789 and prays to the ancestors who transmitted their charms to him. The magician (mungoma) is sometimes a kind of priest when he undertakes to exorcise the spirits of possession. The diviner (wa bula), whose art is entirely based on magical conceptions, occasionally prays to his ancestor-gods to help him in throwing the bones which he has received from them. I am convinced that the three domains are essentially distinct, and that the Thongas have a dim perception of this distinction. But they grade into each other with the greatest ease, and I shall try to follow these gradations, faithfully endeavouring not to alter the original ideas, whilst trying to explain them intelligibly.

A. MEDICAL ART.

756 The medicinal practices of the South African Bantus are very interesting from the ethnographic point of view, but their study has also a practical importance. In all civilised lands the medical profession is subject to restrictions; the candidate must pass examinations showing that he is capable of treating his future patients. Nothing of this kind is to be found amongst the Thongas. The only qualification of the doctor is that of having inherited some recipes from one of his ancestors, and of using them with more or less success on voluntary patients. Should steps be taken by Colonial Governments to stop, or at any rate to regularise, the action of the medicine-men?

A precise knowledge of their practices is necessary in order to come to a conclusion on this point. Missionaries have also a great interest in this study. They have all noticed how often their converts, when sickness overcomes them, abandon the Mission Station and run to their quacks, sometimes brusquely interrupting a treatment which had been prescribed to them by a fully trained medical missionary. The result is almost sure to be the eventual loss of their health and of their faith. Let us, therefore, try to understand the Native medical art and see how far we can trust its representatives.

I. *The Medicine-men.*

I came across a good many *ñanga* (yin-tin), the technical name given to Native physicians. They are all very proud of their

knowledge, and it must be remarked that this knowledge is mostly 756
hereditary. Certain drugs have been tried, and used for years, by a certain individual, who probably owed them to his father, or to another of his ancestors. Before his death he transmitted his art to his son, or to his uterine nephew, the one of his descendants who seemed to be "induced by his heart" (mbilu) to enter the profession. This being the case, medicine-men differ very greatly as regards competence. Some only treat one complaint, or one category of patients, because they only know the medicine which applies to them. For instance *Eliashib*, one of our first converts, a native of Khosen, had only one drug, the bark of a certain tree which possessed terrible purgative powers, and he prescribed it in every case, half killing those who came to him for treatment, and who had all the more confidence in the drug because it came from a distant land. Eliashib was hardly a nanga. *Sam Ngwetsa*, my Rikatla neighbour, was a physician for infantile diseases only. He knew the milombyana prescription and how to biyeketa (I. p. 48, 54), and people used to ask for his assistance as a specialist in this domain alone. We have seen that there is also a special doctor who boasts of being able to treat the dangerous condition of the mother of twins, and another who treats leprosy, this latter being regarded as the most skilful of all. *Spoon-Elias* had a more extensive knowledge of the popular "materia medica" than Sam, but he was still only a beginner. His Nondwane colleague, *Kokolo*, was vastly superior, — an individual in the prime of life, wearing the black crown which distinguishes the notables of the land. He belonged to an ancient family of doctors; his father Mankena and his grandfather Mahlahlana practised before him, and bequeathed to him the valuable legacy of their experience. Tobane, to whom I applied to put me in touch with some really clever practitioners, said of this man: "Awa daha!" — "He is one who succeeds in his cures!", adding with a look of profound respect: "It seems that even the Whites of Lourenço Marques consult him!" And Kokolo, without too much persuasion, showed me his drugs, and went to "dig" for some for my special benefit. I had to pay him fairly generously, as the gentleman does not work for nothing, and it was with an

evident consciousness of his talent and powers that he explained to me the uses of his medicines.

But the most distinguished medicine-man I ever met was old *Mankhelu*, who may be looked upon as one of the masters of the profession in the Thonga tribe. "It is no play, what I am doing! I have beaten an ox (i. e. made a present of an ox) to my maternal uncle Hlomendhlen! I even gave him two oxen, and he taught me his medical art! He led me everywhere, showing me all his drugs." So Mankhelu became a regular ñanga, in addition to being a diviner, a master of the art of throwing bones, a rain-maker, a counsellor, and general of the army. His whole family shared his professional character, and helped him in his work. Every year, at the time of bukanye, the drugs had to be renewed. His wives went all over the bush to dig out the medicinal roots and to collect them in their *lihlelo* baskets (p. 123). On their return home the bones were consulted to find out who was to cut the roots in pieces (gemela). This having been done, they pounded them in their mortars ; a portion of this material was dried outside, and reduced to powder without having been cooked ; these were the *male medicines*. The other portion was roasted in pieces of broken pots, burnt until it was like charcoal, ground and made into a black powder ; these were the *female medicines*. The whole village assembled and inhaled the smoke through reeds during the operation. A goat was killed and a sacrifice performed ; the liquid contained in the *psanyi* (p. 410) was squeezed on the burning drugs to put them out ; a little bukanye beer was also used for the same purpose. In the meantime Mankhelu said "*tsu*," and addressed this prayer to his gods, and especially to the ancestor who had taught him his science :

"You! so and so! Let these drugs of yours rise (pfuka, i. e. find new strength). Let people come from the Zulus, from Mosilekatse, from Mpfumu! Let them think of our leaves (matluka, the common name for drugs). Let them bring elephant tusks, marriageable girls, etc. Let them dream of us!"

This operation of renewing the drugs aims at giving them new strength. Mankhelu said : "We let our drugs *luma* for

the new year ; we raise our calabashes, so that the new season may not be too difficult for us... This will consolidate our home ; bad coughs will not attack us too severely. It will shut out the wind ; we shall no longer be very ill, because these are new drugs. As regards the old ones, they have been contaminated (khuma) by the misfortunes of last year. They are mad (hungukile). A new rain falls ; let there be also new drugs, and we can undertake our journeys to sell our goods." So the ñanga removed a little of the old powder from each calabash ; he threw this on the path at a crossway ; then he washed the calabashes at the same spot : "Misfortune is thus thrown away. Passers-by will take it with them as it has been thrown out there by us." Then the new powder was added to the remainder of the old, which was "raised" by it.

In order to throw more light on the nature of Mankhelu's art, let me briefly mention *the roots* (rimetju), or *the leaves* (tluka, ri-ma), or, to use the great, the generic name, *the drugs* (muri, mu-mi) which composed the marvellous powder of the calabashes. He was not a man of one drug. He claimed to be a universal physician, so he mixed together all kinds of drugs, being sure that, in this way, they would certainly be effective in any case brought to him. Here is the description given by him.

Ntjebe : that by which we find strength to trample on our enemies ; we trample also on the winds which spoil the mealies ; we drive out the bad cold (or wind) which has come to us and made us cough. (Notice the triple use of this drug).

Shikuku : that which tramples on misfortune.

Mpoñwana wa burisi matuba-tubana : vanquisher of the enemy and of misfortune.

Shinano : that which induces the enemies to sleep ; you hang some leaves of it on your shield and they are overcome by drowsiness, they do not see you coming towards them.

Nembe-nembe. By it you reach your enemy while he still sleeps and kill him before he can defend himself.

Mpetshu wa milomo : that of the lips! It overcomes the curses and the assagais of the others!

Rihinga ra ndlela : a root found on the path ; it helps you to go on, though others may seek to hinder you in your progress.

Shivunge : that which attracts patients to the doctor.

Nandjiyane : that which makes his words agreeable, so that patients will like them ; (from ku nandjiya, to be agreeable).

Mvakazi, phuphuma ra matlhari : that which is used to make the slayers vomit the main drug of the *tintebe* (I. p. 479).

Mbendjula : that which strengthens all the other drugs.

These are the principal trees, or plants, used for the preparation of the powder. They must be *salted* by the addition of the *sea*, viz., of the medicines taken from the sea, which Mankhelu uses to cause rain to fall (p. 321).

The sexual character of the drugs is essential. The female are used principally for sprinkling the army and the assagais, the male for treating diseases. We find here again the law of opposition of sexes ; the military domain is the male domain par excellence : it must be treated by means of female drugs. On the contrary, when slaughtering a she-goat for the sacrifice, a little of the male drugs must be placed in its mouth and the weapon used to kill it must be smeared with the same, and vice-versa for the he-goat. "To act otherwise is taboo. All the ñanga do this" (p. 417).

There may be some true scientific elements in Thonga medical practice. Experiments have been made in using certain roots to cure certain diseases, and tradition has handed down some prescriptions from father to son. Why should there not be effective curative properties in plants of their country just as in the Cinchona bark, or in Castor oil seeds? And why should they not have discovered them? However the Native ñanga is by no means a scientific man, and the best, the most renowned, are perhaps the least scientific. Those who treat only one complaint, and only know one drug, are perhaps those most resembling real physicians ; they act on the results of experiment. But the line between science and superstition is very soon crossed, and the medical art passes with the greatest ease into the domain of magic, all the more so as the difference between Science and Magic is not perceived. *Muri*, which means originally tree, plant, medicinal herb, is at the same time any means of producing any effect, natural or super-

natural, on any influence, hostile or favourable, personal or impersonal (1). That is why the *ntjebe* shrub helps Mankhelu to attain three objects at the same time : cure a bad cough, protect the mealies, and rout the enemy. 756 789

The question has often been put : Are these medicine-men sincere? or are they mere quacks living on the stupidity of the patients whom they deceive? I am convinced, after having listened to their talk, that most of them thoroughly believe in the value of their drugs ; this does not prevent them from occasionally using tricks in order to impress their patients with their miraculous power. One of my pupils, who had accompanied a ñanga for a long time, wishing to enter the profession himself, and had thus had an opportunity to watch his master in his medical work, assured me that, as a rule, the man administered his drugs honestly and in good faith ; but if somebody came suffering from toothache and asked for relief, the doctor first procured a little worm found in the berry of a solaneous shrub called rulane. This he placed in a pot filled with boiling water. The patient had then to inhale the vapour from the pot, his head being covered with a cloth. When the inhalation was over the ñanga took a piece of charcoal and rubbed his forehead with it ; he did the same all round his eyes and told him : "Now your eyes are open and you will be able to see what it was that caused your suffering." He emptied the pot and the little white worm appeared at the bottom, resembling the caries of a decaying tooth : "This is what they had brought on you" the ñanga would add." ("They" evidently means the wizards.) This is clearly a trick pure and simple. But, according to my informant, it was also a medical treatment, because the aim of the trick was to convince the patient that he had been cured. It was thus what we should call a means of suggestion. If, after that, the suffering did not cease, the ñanga would tell his patient that he had not paid enough to effect the cure, that his ancestor-gods (those of the ñanga, who had given him his drugs) were angry at receiving such a small fee, etc. The trick of making patients believe that a harmful object has been extracted from their body is frequently used. We have 755 756

(1) The following story, which I owe to one of my colleagues, fittingly illustrates the ideas held by most of the Thongas concerning *muri*, remedy. A man of the Libombo clan found a bottle filled with a white salt which he at once recognized as being most probably a *muri*. He picked up the bottle and kept it carefully in his hut. One day, feeling unwell, he thought the occasion had come to use his precious drug. His wife bade him be careful, but he secretly swallowed a good dose. Was it not a *muri*? He was poisoned, and would have died if my colleague had not succeeded in saving him by means of an antidote.

755 seen another instance of this (p. 188). It is in keeping with two ideas
756 which are very familiar to Natives and which we shall meet with again later, viz. that disease is a material thing and that it is generally caused by this thing being introduced into the body by wizards.

The mixed character of the medical art of the primitives, which is so evident in their medicine-men, will appear clearly as we continue our study.

II. *Medical Practices.*

752 *Surgical cases* are treated in the worst possible way, any intervention with a knife being looked on as absurd, if not culpable (1). When dealing with *sores*, the aim of the ñanga seems to be to conceal them under a black powder, so as to give the patient a false impression; he thinks himself healed, as he can no longer see his sore. Mankhelu used to grind the bark of the *Ndjupfura* tree (a tree with a white sap), and put the powder on the sore to make it dry up, renewing the application on the fourth day, then five days later, then six days later. — For *wounds* Kokolo used the sap of the *Shilangamahlo*, letting it fall in drops on the bleeding wound. The *Nkahlu* (p. 329), with its milky sap, is commonly used for this purpose. — "But," says Kokolo, "the chief is *Shilangamahlo*." *Bruises* are treated by the *rimba* method. When a person has fallen and some complication is feared, a fire is made; when there are enough glowing embers, and the soil is very hot, the ashes are pushed aside and a little sand taken from the river is poured on the spot, and some nkuhlu leaves on top of it. The patient leans over the place "which has been so treated;" this is an unexpected application of the principle "similia similibus curantur;" — as the soil has been burnt, but afterwards "quenched" (timula) by the cool sand, so the bruise will be prevented from burning him dangerously! — *Decayed teeth* are not extracted, properly speaking; they are broken down with a piece of iron, on which the Native dentist beats with a hammer

(1) Gungunyana, who killed thousands of poor Ba-Chopi without the slightest remorse, could not conceal his horror of Dr. Liengme, who dared to amputate limbs, or to cut open the body in order to cure patients!

751 One frequently meets people wearing this ornament, which also
755 aims at making the cure permanent. Sometimes the nails are those
783 from one hand and foot only. The *psirungulo* i. e. the astragalus of the slaughtered goat, or the beak, claws and some feathers of the hen (p. 410) are also tied round the neck of the patient. This is the *religious amulet*, whilst the lizard bag is the *medico-magical* one. Convalescents are moreover provided with the *fowa*, a kind of rattle, consisting of a root called *sungi* (there is no connection between this word and the sungi of the circumcision school, I. p. 77) contained in a kind of round box made of palm leaf which is tied round the ankle. This is intended to protect them against the perspiration of those who have sexual relations (p. 358). They sometimes wear a little piece of reed filled with a protective powder, as do also nursing mothers during the whole nursing period (1) (I. p. 48).

[527] The hondlola rite also marks the moment when sexual relations, which had been suspended during the disease, are resumed. Celebrating as it does the victory over disease, the day of hondlola
756 is regarded as a fête-day. Beer is prepared as a mark of gratitude to the doctor and "to rejoice his heart." It is also the day of reckoning ; the physician must be paid. This individual has not, however, waited until now to ask for a "refresher." From the commencement of the case it has been necessary to *pfula hwama*, that is to say, to lift the cover of the medicine wallet by means of sixpence or a shilling. At times he has been very anxious to change the medicine, in order to produce a greater effect ; on such

751 (1) I may here mention two other articles which are frequently worn by Thonga Natives : one is the dried seed-pod of the flower of the large Protea bush (sugar bush) which is so common on the slopes of the Drakensberg. It looks like a hard brownish cone, all covered with concentric layers of little square ledges. This cures *vertigo*. Why? No doubt because when it is turned round rapidly, it makes the spectator giddy. It is hung round the neck with a string. This curious remedy is brought back from the Barberton mountains by those who go to work in the Transvaal. The second is a bracelet often seen round little children's wrists, and is made from the skin of a kind of tawny mole, called *tju'unyana*, which digs its burrows almost on the level of the ground. You can see the earth a little raised all along its track. The *Filaria* parasite, which is often met with in our tribe, also creeps under the skin in a similar way (p. 343). See illustration No. 5. These are two new instances of the principle "similia similibus curantur." Bags filled with snake powder are also often worn as a preventive.

occasions he has been presented with a chicken as an encouragment; but on the day of the hondlola, when his skill is joyfully affirmed, and the cure an accomplished fact, accounts must be definitely settled with the ñanga, who will henceforth discontinue his visits. 756

III. *Conception of Disease.*

The preceding details make it possible for us to understand the conceptions which underlie these rites and ceremonies. Possessing as they do so few and such inaccurate notions regarding Anatomy or Physiology, it is not surprising that correct pathological knowledge is absolutely non-existent amongst South African Bantus. In fact this knowledge is both superficial and superstitious. I shall try to prove this by a study of the *names* given to the diseases, the *causes* to which they are attributed, the *notion* of contagion, and the ideas underlying the *rites which mark the end of a disease.* 753

1) As regards the method of *naming diseases*, it is most childish. Thongas call the complaint from which they suffer by the name of the organ affected ; for instance "I have a foot, I have a hand, I have a neck" (ndji ni nenge, boko, nkolo) means "I have a pain in my foot, my hand or my neck." These curious expressions doubtless arise from the fact that no notice is taken of the existence of any particular organ until something goes wrong with it. "He has a head" means "He is mad." For "I have a headache," the expression "ndji yingela nhloko," meaning "I feel my head," would generally be used. Very often one hears complaints of "a blood" (ngati) which moves from spot to spot, finally taking up its abode in the side or in the stomach, or elsewhere. This is an idea similar to that of the morbid humours of olden days. There are then as many diseases as there are organs, and we are often asked for remedies for the "nape of the neck complaint," or for the "inside trouble." This latter might be gastritis, congestion of the liver, or dysentery, and we should often be wholly at a loss how to prescribe were it not for the highly picturesque, and often particularly appropriate, imagery used by the patients, or by their friends, in describing the various symptoms ; for instance when 753 827

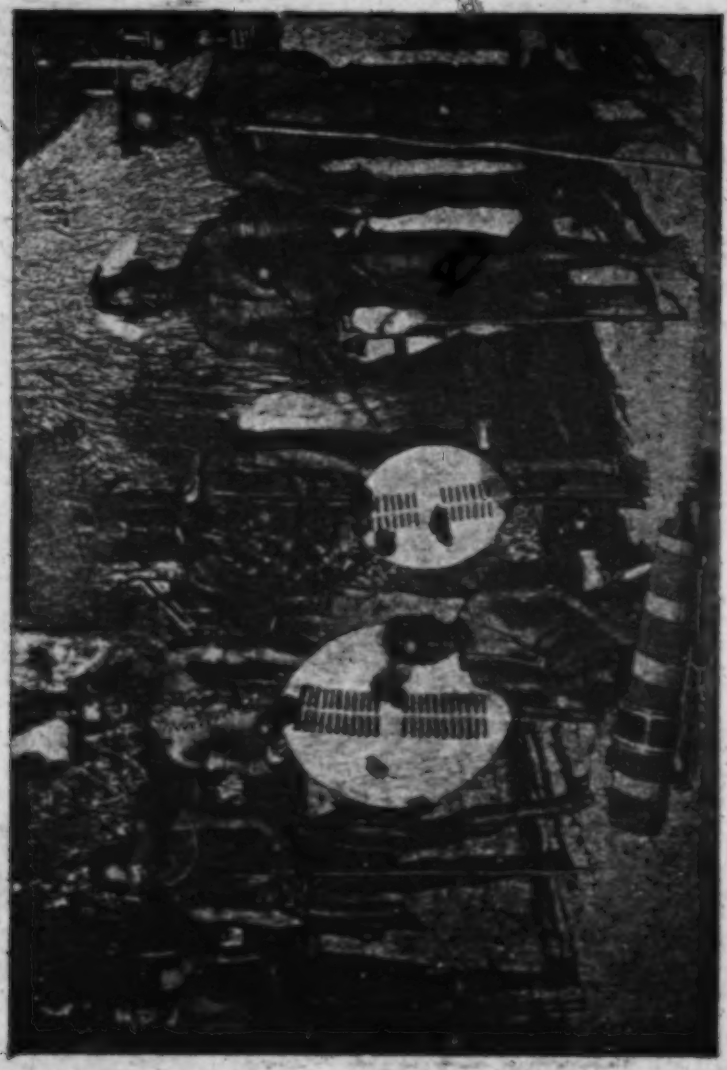
158 "Ha!" they said, "he has the gods (or he is sick from the gods, a ni
753 psikwembu)." Thus the first signs of possession seem to be a
756 nervous crisis, but also the occurence of certain suspicious symptoms : a persistant pain in the chest, irrepressible hiccough, unusual yawning, emaciation without apparent cause, etc. These symptoms, however, are not sufficient grounds for a diagnosis, and the bones are always consulted in order to arrive at a conclusion. The amulets of the patient (called "his shade") are placed on the mat, and the bones thrown near them. We shall see, under letter D, how they must fall to confirm the diagnosis. Should they do so, a second consultation takes place in order to ascertain to what doctor the treatment must be entrusted. There are medicine-men who are specialists for this disease. They are not true *ñanga*, but are called *gobela* (dji-ma), at least amongst the Ba-Ronga, who suffer from possession more than the other clans. These gobela have formed many rival schools in which the drugs used, and the rites followed, differ slightly ; the schools of Kkongosa, Sindondondo, Ñwatshulu, who are men, and those of Ñwamutheto (in the Shifimbatello district) and of Thambula-nyoka, viz., Snake-bone, both of whom are women, etc. Ñwashinhwana was treated by a disciple of Khongosa ; Mboza by Ñwatshulu.

III. *The Treatment of Possession, or Exorcism.*

755 In form[illegible] times, the only remedy was waving a large palm-leaf (milala) [illegible] front of the patient. This was deemed sufficient to "scatter the spirits." Now the treatment is much more complicated. Though it varies slightly in the various schools above mentioned, it comprises four principal rites : the drum performance, the ablution in the gobo calabash, the drinking of the blood and the hondlola ceremony. In the Khongosa treatment the gobo rite comes first, and is called *baselo*. A certain root, the *phuphumane*, is prepared, and dipped into water in a big calabash cut in two so as to form a large basin. The mixture is stirred ; an abundant foam is thus produced and the patient must

755 perfectly distinct from him, had already demanded some presents ; but there is one in particular that must be given in order to

[756]



The great exorcist Hokoza with his companions (Tembe).

propitiate them and to get rid of them (kungulula). The refrain of the second verse of the exorcists' song, which I have already quoted, mentions this offering, and still promises us to see

755 inducement to the spirit to disclose its name. This is what is called the *thwaza*.

Aba ka Khongosa ba thwaza hi huku!

meaning : the patients of Khongosa's school treat with fowl's blood. Blood, an abundance of blood, is necessary to effect the cure of the patient, and to obtain an assurance from the objectionable tenant in possession that it will do no further harm. As a general rule it is given something better than fowl's blood. In most schools a she-goat is taken, if the patient be a man, or a he-goat in the case of a woman. The exorcist who has been in charge of the cure orders the by-standers to repeat the song which had induced the first crisis. The possessed again shows excitement, and exhibits the same symptoms of raving madness that I have previously described. Then the animal is pierced beneath the foreleg (in the case of Mboza this took place at the entrance of his own hut), and the patient throws himself on the wound, greedily sucking the flowing blood, and, in frenzy, filling his stomach with it. When he has drunk his fill, he has to be dragged away from the animal by main force ; certain medicines (one of which is called *ntshatshu*, apparently an emetic) are administered, his throat is tickled with a feather and he retires behind the hut to vomit all the blood he has absorbed. By this means the spirit, or spirits, have been duly appeased and expelled.

The sufferer, who is now recovering, is next washed again, and smeared with ochre. The spirits will have ochre on the day of thwaza, and torment him if he does not satisfy their desire ; Sometimes the *kunga* rite is also practised for the exorcised, viz., no one is allowed to speak to him before having given him a present. (Compare I. p. 124) (1).

756 (1) The accompanying illustration represents a well known exorcist named Hokoza, who had won great fame in the Tembe and Maputju regions, a kindly man who had even some sympathy for Christianity, to which most of these magicians are strongly opposed, as may easily be understood. According to the Rev. A. Aubert, Hokoza used to begin teaching the magic art to his patients on the day of thwaza. Whilst the exorcised was seated in his hut, after having vomited the blood, some of the disciples of the magician took that part of the skull of the goat to which the horns are attached, its astragalus and gall-bladder, and went to a certain spot to hide these objects. When they returned to the patient's village, the latter began to dance, to sing his song, to put

755 It is interesting to note what is done with the different parts of the sacrificed goat : the *bile-bladder* is stuck in the patient's hair according to custom (p. 50), to symbolise the happiness and good fortune that the sacrifice has ensured ; afterwards he is clothed with *strips of the skin* of the animal. All the tambourine players, who are themselves *mathwaza*, i. e. who have already gone through the torture of possession, decorate themselves also with these strips of skin, crossing them over the breast. The strips must be tied together with *munganazi*, i. e. strings made from the roots of the munga tree, which have a pleasant odour ; this has the property of "rejoicing the nose" of the spirits, and is always used in the ritual of possession. In former times people wearing strips were often met with, as these ornaments had to be worn, at that time, during *a whole year*, until the hondlola. — The *flesh* of the sacrificed goat also supplies the means of finally exorcising these mysterious spirit powers. From each limb a small piece is cut, and these pieces are cooked in a separate saucepan, with a powdered drug prepared for this special purpose. The head exorcist breaks off the branch of an acacia bearing enormous shiny white thorns, on each of which is spitted a piece of meat. The patient runs at full speed towards the branch, and seizes a piece of meat between his teeth in passing. While eating it, he rushes towards the East. He comes back, seizes another piece in the same manner, and runs towards the West, and so on towards all the four cardinal points. In this way he propitiates the gods, the spirits of every country, in whatever direction they may lie. The young *mathwaza*, viz., those who have lately passed through this initiation, must also seize the pieces of meat with their teeth, but not the gobela, nor the old mathwaza. This is one of the rites of the Khongosa school. Ñwatshulu used not to observe it. The remainder of the goat is then cooked and eaten. A feast is celebrated, in which the chief exorcist dances and sings his song,

756 himself into a state of trance, and ran outside in search of the hidden objects. It was a species of trial ; Hokoza wished to know if the exorcised possessed the gift of divination. If he succeeded in finding the astragalus, he tied it to his left foot ; the gall-bladder he fixed in his hair. Hokoza was then satisfied and predicted a bright future for his pupil.

all the people clapping their hands (wombela), to encourage him 755
as an accompaniment. — The *horns and hoofs* will be carefully kept, and placed on the roof of the hut, just over the door (shiranwin) by which the afflicted one enters, evidently to protect the abode from malign influences. — The *astragalus* will be tied, together with the strips, on the sternum of the patient. — The *bones* of the goat are the objects of special care. They must not be broken to eat the marrow, but burnt in the shade of a large tree, where it is "cool." So the possessing spirit will also be cool (titimela) and not too wild. Sometimes they are preserved in a special pot, and burnt on the day of the hondlola.

The period of convalescence[1] then begins. It lasts one year, 758
and is a distinct marginal period, as clearly appears from the 834
fact that sexual relations are absolutely forbidden during that 756
phase, and until the hondlola. It is also, more or less, a period of apprenticeship, as the possessed will become an exorcist himself, if his magical powers become sufficiently developed. He accompanies the gobela everywhere, assists him in his cures, and so learns the art of exorcism. The apprentice will also have to practise the rites of protection, which I shall shortly describe, and which are obligatory during the whole period of convalescence, and even later.

4) The final purification of the hondlola and investing with amulets (timfisa).

As we saw, the hondlola, the removal of defilement of disease, 755
is necessary at the close of any illness. So, when a possessed 758
person is regarded as healed, he will have to pass through this 787
rite. It can however only be carried out on the one condition that the possessed husband, or wife, has remained in a state of continence during the period of convalescence. In order to know if they have obeyed this law, a fowl will be placed on the head of the patient. If he, or she, has been continent according to order, the bird will remain quiet; it will not fly away, even should someone approach and pass close by. If it flies off making a great noise, the angry exorcist will also take his leave, saying:

[1] [For the individual whose spirit was possessed — Analyst]

Let us remember that, in the case of the exorcised, the hondlola
does not only mean the re-introduction of the patient into the 755
society of the healthy, but his reception into the society of the 756
magicians. It is the last act of *initiation* : he himself becomes a magician, a doctor able to treat those who are possessed. This new dignity is symbolised by the *shiphandje* (forked branch) which will be given to him to-day, as it is to medicine-men (p. 388), or diviners (See later on). It was Nwatshulu who chose and cut the branch for Mboza from the tree called *shiralala*. He dug a hole in the back part of Mboza's hut, chewed his sungi or ndjao root, and blew against the foot of the branch before planting it in the hole. Then he made the branch firm in the ground, and hung to it the baskets full of drugs and calabashes full of medicinal powders which he gave to his disciple. This branch will be the drug store of the new magician, the place where he keeps all his magic drugs ; it will also be his *altar* (gandjelo), not the altar of the ancestor-gods, who have no part here, but that of the possessing spirits, to whom he will also henceforth address his worship. (Compare with Mankhelu's forked branch, letter D). This leads us on to the next division of the subject.

IV. *The new Condition of the Exorcised.*

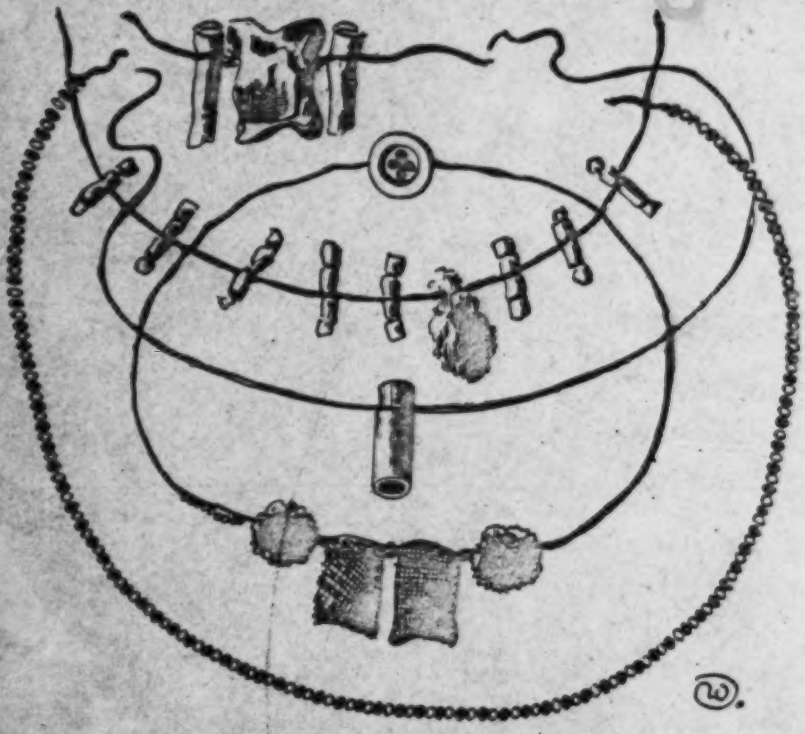
It is interesting to note the stages in the process of initiation 756
through which the possessed passes in the different acts of his 184
treatment. The tambourine performance has provoked, or accentuated, the manifestation of his dual personality, viz., the person possessed and the spirit possessing. The baptism in the calabash has helped him to cross the sea and to reach the land beyond, the land of miracles and of magic powers! By the drinking of blood, he has become a superior being, a man who does not fear that which makes others tremble ; he has *thwaza*. This word is the same as that employed for the renewal of the moon (p. 306) ; like the moon, he has been born again ; a new light has appeared after a period of darkness. He has entered a new life. The period of convalescence, with its taboos, is his last trial ; by the hondlola he finally enters the society of the initiated.

●756 Henceforth he will lead a special life, characterised by protective
184 and propitiatory rites, which tend to the development of his subliminal faculties.

1) Protective rites.

756 As soon as he was "born again" in the thwaza ceremony,
751 but to a still higher degree later on, after being elevated to the
789 dignity of the magician, the exorcised, having entered the mysterious world of those endowed with powers, becomes the butt of all his colleagues in the magical arts ; first the baloyi, the witches, who *try* him, to see if he is able to discover their evil deeds, and secondly the other magicians, who are annoyed at seeing a rival ready to dispute their practice with them. So he must be continually on his guard ; in the evening, especially, he must protect himself against their nightly charms. The great protective medicine is a pellet made of the powder of many roots, which have been burned and bound together with fat taken from the bowels of a goat. The first of these roots comes from a tree called *mabophe*, found in the Bilen country. This has the power of tying (bopha, in Zulu, means to tie) the knees of the wizards who come during the night, so that they will be found in the morning, stark naked, in the hut of the exorcised. The *nulu* root seems to be used for the same purpose ; the *nsala*, which also enters into the composition of the protective pellets, rather aims at ensuring the success of the treatment undertaken by the new gobela ; as its fruits are plentiful (p. 16), so will the possessed come in great numbers to the doctor. The pellet is used for medical treatment, but the same drugs are also kept in the form of powder, in a piece of reed, or in the calabashes hanging from the forked pole. Every night the exorcised swallows a pinch, and throws another pinch on the fire in his hut. This will prevent enemies from entering, or make them prisoners. Before eating, he must also protect himself by chewing (phora) a little of the *manono*, a kind of antiseptic or anti-witchcraft root as big as a stick, which he always carries with him ; this is the special *luma* (I. p. 146) of the exorcised. Who knows if his food has not been poisoned by the malpractices of his rivals?

When undertaking a journey, he must always chew his *ndjao*, the juncus root which has often been mentioned and which "cleans roads;" this is "his shield," because the ndjao knows and tries (djinga) everything, and overcomes the hostility of man and things. It is the universal remedy against any hostile influence. So, after having chewed, he spits on his stick, rubs it and starts on



Protective amulets worn by exorcised.

his journey, saying: "The road is ripe (wupfile), let us go!" — The astragalus will be the principal charm that the possessed will have to wear, and will be tied round his neck between two little amulet bags or reeds.

The exorcised leads a life of constant fighting against evil spiritual influences. These protective rites are observed all through the year of convalescence.

Another rite, which is observed after the hondlola only, is

Another rite, which is observed after the homdlola only, is
756 the *haza*, viz., the monthly purification of the exorcist. He
783 fills his gobo calabash with a decoction made of the roots of the
821 mphesu and ntjebe trees, drinks the whole, tickles his throat with a feather and vomits the medicine. "A tibasisa ndjen" — "he purifies his inside." This is done at every new moon. The connection between the possessed and the moon, which was first established by the fact that he had *thwaza*[1] as well as the moon, is maintained and intensified by this rite.

2) Propitiatory rites.

751 Besides these protective drugs, the exorcised wears a necklace
756 made of little pieces of a creeper called *mayambatju;* tied together with a munganazi string. See the second necklace in the
782 illustration. This is intended *to calm his gods*, and to scatter
158 them when they desire to come upon him with violence. This is indeed a great danger ; the exorcised is liable to nervous attacks of a dangerous nature, especially during the first few weeks following the exorcism. Perhaps his song is heard in the distance. Then suddenly he is seized with madness, and furiously assaults his neighbours with the small hatchet, or the assagay used in the dances. People run away ; or, on the contrary, they collect and begin to clap their hands, and make their infuriated companion dance and sing his own song. This may help to dispel the spirits, and calm him down. Sometimes, feeling uneasy, foreseeing a crisis, the poor man himself asks them to sing. But he may also be led, in his frenzy, to the bush, far away, unconscious, quite mad, tearing his clothes and his skin with the thorns. This often happened to Ñwashinhwana. Her husband then followed her, and, when the crisis was over, saw her fall down exhausted and brought her home ; there, having returned to her senses, she became very sad and wept bitterly. So, in order to avoid being tormented, the exorcised propitiate their spirits ; they worship them, in truth, and this gives birth to *a new religion* totally different from ancestrolatry, which has its rites and its duties.

756 As already pointed out, the exorcised has *his own altar* in his
778 hut. It is the forked branch, round which a circle of raised clay
782

[1] [See p. 495 -- Analyst]

is carefully maintained, and regularly smeared. He puts his offerings there, principally tobacco. The snuff box is deposited there. Does he want snuff? He enters the hut clapping his hands, saluting his spirits, and, taking the box, throws a pinch of it at the foot of the branch, and says: "You! Ngoni, you see that I have not stolen! I first gave you your share." His wife will do the same. This is a "mhamba." — When ready to undertake a journey, he will come to the altar, sit on his ankles (a woman will kneel down) and take leave of the spirits. Holding his assagay, and his manono root, he says: "Good-bye, Ba-Ngoni! This hut is yours; keep it well! I go to such and such a place," and asks them to bless his journeying. On his return he will inform the spirits that he has succeeded in his trip. If he is sick, and the bones have revealed that the disease has been caused by the spirits, he again comes to the altar, and says: "You! Ba-Ngoni, why are you angry with me?" These acts of worship are not only performed at the altar. Wherever he may be, before drinking beer, the exorcised will pour out a little for his spirits. He will also throw a little food for them before eating. This will be *a daily worship*, much more constant and individual than the rites of ancestrolatry, a real communion with the spirits who, after having tormented the exorcist, have become his benefactors, giving him the power of healing others and thus of making money! There is much more religiosity in the exorcised than in ordinary people. 756 778 782

3) Development of subliminal faculties.

All these nervous crises, natural or provoked, the double psychological existence which is fostered by them, the regular participation in the exorcism of others, generally greatly injure the mind of the exorcised; they have an extraordinary look, something wild about them, as if they were not in their right senses. They may be heard sometimes groaning, or emitting a sudden cry without any reason. This nervous instability may pass away and they may return to their normal state, but it may be that if they possess those strange mental powers, which modern psychology 756 158 791

756 158 791 calls subliminal, and which are more or less dormant in every individual, these faculties will suddenly develop and the exorcised will become a real magician. A faculty of *second sight* may reveal itself. Or he will become a *diviner*, either by ecstasy or by bone throwing (See Letter D). Or he will be a *wonder-worker*, a *prophet*, etc. Mholombo, who was an extraordinarily acute woman, had possessed all these gifts. She could discover wizards ; one night, crossing the Mabota country, she met one of the indunas of the chief accompanied by two other men, leading his own wife to the marsh, in order to eat her. They were acting in their capacity of wizards (See Letter C). Mholombo knew them at once and said to them : "No use eating her. Her meat is bitter sour." Terrified, the wizards fled, and confessed their guilt next morning! I have related in the *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie*, of 1910, how she received divinatory bones from her possessing spirit, prophesied the arrival of missionaries, showed up the man who had stolen £ 8 to the Mpfumo chief, was given the power to cross the Nkomati river by walking on the water, etc. By this same power Shidzabalane was able to leave his body, and to go and dwell in his own shadow (p. 362). Reference will again be made to the profession of magician when dealing with witchcraft.

4) The society of the exorcised.

756 If the power of an exorcised person becomes very great, if he succeeds in his cures, all his *mathwaza* join him, and he becomes the founder of a school. He starts new rites, discovers more powerful drugs, and so attracts patients to himself from all parts. We have seen that five or six schools existed northward of Lourenço Marques, in the Mabota and Nondwane countries. Mboza might have started a new one, as he had already cured two patients.

Each school of exorcists celebrates *an annual feast*, in winter, at the close of the harvest season, a feast to which all the disciples of the master are summoned. This is the rite of the *renewal of the drugs*, which we have already noticed as a medical practice in the

case of ordinary medicine-men. Mboza, who was the favourite of Ñwatshulu, was entrusted with the organisation of the feast. He stood at the main entrance of the village and welcomed the exorcised coming with their empty calabashes ; on their arrival, each of them gave two shillings, or half a crown, or a mat, or a fowl for the master ; this was their annual fee. Next day they all gathered fuel and burnt the drugs in broken pots, two or three mathwazana around each fire. Then they all inhaled the smoke through reeds, and absorbed the froth of the phuphumana and psekamafura decoction from the gobo basin. In the evening the old inhabitants began to grind the carbonised roots, and Mboza filled the calabashes of the disciples with the new protective medicines, after which dancing began, each of the exorcised singing his own song as well as the universally known refrains, such as : "Vuka Mungoni," etc. This was a great day of rejoicing! 756

As already pointed out, great rivalry exists between these schools. Professional hatred is carried to its extreme limits amongst magicians ; they not only *test* their colleagues, entering their huts during the night, but they steal each other's drugs. I have been told how Sindondondo overcame Khongosa. Sindondondo was a wonderful man, dwelling on the Western border of the Nkomati, at Shifukundju. He had disappeared for two or three years, and was regarded as dead, but he unexpectedly reappeared, saying that he had lived at the bottom of the sea during the whole time. There he had not eaten anything ; he was like a fish. The chiefs of that country, under the water, had given him his great drug called *ndzundzu*, and he returned home bringing with him a bunch of the precious roots. His people welcomed him and made a feast on his return. He then became a great magician, and exorcised a number of people. He and his one wife were the sole inhabitants of his village ; he was very particular as regards his food, eating only mealies of the preceding year, and drinking no beer. (The exorcised often observe special, individual alimentary taboos.) His forked pole was outside, on his hubo, not in the hut; and when he went on a journey, he ordered a neighbour to keep watch over his drugs and his fowls. Should some other man try to enter his [262]

756 village, he would find it full of enormous snakes, surrounding the magic branch. Khongosa, who inhabited the district called Nkanyen, on the Eastern border of the Nkomati, wished to possess the marvellous *ndzundzu* drug ; so one night he crossed the river and tried to steal it. But Sindondondo was on his guard, his protective charms were working. They caught his rival, who was *shwela*, viz., imprisoned till after sunrise. Sindondondo behaved magnanimously : "Why, my friend (gobelakulori), did you not come in daylight to ask for my medicine? I would have given it to you! I could cover you with shame now, and show all the people what kind of an exorcist you are! But I have pity on you! Go home." And he released him. Mboza was fully persuaded of the truth of this story.

It may happen that a disciple emancipates himself and founds a new society of the exorcised ; this is, of course, very unpleasant for his master, as the new doctor will start a dangerous competition and refuse to pay any more fees to his initiator ; he will proclaim himself as his superior. So the old gobela goes to his altar and prays his Ngoni gods to make the drugs of his rival powerless. This prayer is heard, and the young gobela is obliged to ask for forgiveness, and to pay a fine of £ 1 in order to obtain success in his future cures. He may perhaps *succeed* his master, but only when the latter is dead.

5) Funeral rites of the exorcised.

766 The burial of the exorcised is attended by other mathwazana,
756 and by his disciples, if he was an exorcist, and special rites are observed for his funeral. The corpse is taboo. It must be covered with ochre. The grave is smeared with clay, and the body is not laid down on its side, but is placed in a sitting position, its hand holding the assagay, or hatchet, which the deceased used when dancing and singing the songs of exorcism. A bunch of *shibowa*, a Urticaria which grows in water, is placed on his head : "*This is to cool him*, because his poor head has been so tired, it has suffered so much from anguish, pain, excitement!" The grass, being taken from the water, also appears *to cool the spirits*, who will

thus remain in the grave, and not trouble other people. Moreover 766
a little hut is built on the grave itself, as was the case for Sokis 756
(I. p. 141), with the same intention, to protect the exorcised against heat and fatigue. If the deceased was not only a disciple but a master, his drugs will be stored in the hut till the adjudication of the inheritance. The most skilful of his followers, the one who best knows the use of these charms, will dance on the grave, all his companions clapping their hands to encourage him, and, when the mourning is ended, he will "raise the drugs," burning them as is done at the annual feast, and will eventually succeed his master.

6) Conclusion on Possession.

Cases of possession, such as those which occur amongst the Thongas, 158
are met with in a great many other countries. A Swiss missionary, the 753
Rev. H. Rusillon, working in the Paris Mission in Madagascar, has drawn attention to practices very similar to these, called the Tromba, amongst Hovas. It is impossible not to note the striking resemblance between the Thonga disease and that of the demoniacs of the New Testament. On hearing the story of the madman in Gadara, whose spirit called itself Legion, the Natives at once identify the phenomenon, and say: "These demoniacs had psikwembu."

These psychological phenomena are certainly of a morbid character. The fact that they generally appear in an epidemic form is significant. It has been noticed that similar epidemics have broken out in populations which have been weakened by the sufferings of a long war, when the nervous resistance had been reduced by privations. May not the progress of Alcoholism, together with the disintegration of the old social order caused by the influence of European civilisation, account for the spread of the disease amongst the Ba-Ronga in the last fifty years?

Whilst not pretending to analyse these phenomena scientifically and fully, I will here add two observations:

1) In the Jewish conception, phenomena of possession were due to *evil spirits*, devilish agencies, which tormented poor humanity, and were cured by the power of the real and true God. Dualism prevailed in their religious conceptions. This idea of dualism is altogether absent from the Thonga belief. South African Bantus have not yet reached that stage of religion where the antagonistic ideas of right and wrong are

754 that baloyi are more or less subject to the ancestral gods. It may happen also that if somebody shows kindness to a noyi, this noyi will take him under his protection, and prevent his comrades from doing harm to his friend. But these are rare occurrences, and the baloyi are, and remain, criminals in the view of the Thongas.

Stealing, killing, enslaving are the principal crimes of these maleficent beings. But they can also cause any other species of harm to their infortunate victims. I have told the story of a young man who complained to me of having been deprived by the tricks of a noyi aunt of the power of having sexual intercourse with his wife; she was pregnant and the witch wished to act on the offspring in such a way as to change it into a snake, a hare, a quail, or a duiker, so that the mother should die on the day of the birth. (I. p. 187.)

II. *White Magic and Magicians.*

1) Distinction between Magicians and Wizards.

754 As previously stated, the power which the magicians claim to
791 possess is perhaps not essentially different from that of the baloyi.
They even sometimes boast that they are themselves baloyi, baloyi
● 756 more powerful than the ordinary witches, and that they are thus able to discover them and baffle all their tricks. So Mathuza, one of the most celebrated Ronga witch-doctors, used to say: "I am the great Noyi! I am the one who kills. I can fly. So I know them all and I disclose them." But magicians differ absolutely from wizards in four ways, at least:

1) Their activity is not secret, nocturnal and more or less unconscious. They act openly, in the light, during the day, and do not hide their magical powers; on the contrary, they make a show of them, covering themselves with any number of charms; most of them wear "tingoya" and smear themselves with ochre (p. 100).

2) They all undergo a preparation, or pass through an initiation, differing according to the different kinds of magic they practise.

So they possess, so to speak, letters patent, either because they have been received into the society of their fellow-magicians (as is the case with medicine-men, exorcists, and throwers of bones), or because they have found new and powerful drugs during a sojourn, real or pretended, in the sea, the desert, or elsewhere. 754 791 756

3) Whilst baloyi are said to use *tingati* (blood) poisons, the magicians employ *miri*, i. e., medicinal herbs or objects, drugs which, however, are all thought to possess special powers. I do not say "supernatural" powers, as the notion conveyed by this word cannot exist in any definite form amongst people who have hardly a true conception of Nature. The stronger the miri, the stronger the magician. — In addition to their drugs, they certainly believe themselves endowed with personal power due to the development of their faculties of second sight, etc., which they also attribute to the spirits (ancestor-gods) from whom they have inherited their drugs.

4) The last point of difference but by no means the least important, is this : magicians are the supporters and upholders of the social order, and not criminals attempting to destroy it. They foretell the future, cure diseases, prevent misfortune of all kinds, fight against baloyi, and are regularly consulted by the Native Court for the detection of wizards.

Between the unconscious baloyi whose crimes are purely imaginary and the bangoma who use their magical powers for the benefit of those who have recourse to them, there certainly exists another category, i. e. wicked individuals who kill their fellow-men by means of real poisons or by criminal practices and do this quite consciously, either to avenge themselves on their enemies or to help others to get rid of those whom they hate. Such acts may be called ku loya, by an extended use of the term ; but there is another word to designate these crimes, the word *ku dambika*, which we already met with when speaking of the jilted lover who wishes to play an evil trick on the girl who despised him (I. p. 101). In the neighbourhood of Rikatla, there was a man who claimed to be a noyi of this type, and to have at the same time the power of "treating" (daha) buloyi. He was a Mu-Sutho, a stranger. Wishing to kill an enemy, a Ronga of the country asked his help ; 754 791

754 the magician bade him first bring a sheep ; this he slew, took part
791 of its fat, and smeared with it and with some very black drugs a root of the ntjhopfa tree (I. p. 58). This fat and these drugs were to give to the root the power of "taking away" the heart of the enemy ; the magician buried it in the road and assured his client that when the root was rotten his enemy would be dead. This root was discovered later on, owing to a revelation given by the bones, and the man who had consulted the magician had to pay a fine of £ 1. No doubt such conscious acts of witchcraft exist, but this is not the typical loya.

2) Various categories of magicians.

●756 Some magicians specialise in one division of the immense domain
791 of magic, but others claim to practise the magic arts in all their diversity.

1) Those whose activity bears a less magical character. These are the *ñanga* (yin-tin), or *ba-muri*, whom we met with when dealing with the medical art (Compare Chapter I. the Medicine-men).

2) Those who have passed through the ceremony of exorcism and have become exorcists. They are called *gobela*, and the character of their initiation has been sufficiently explained in Chapter II.

3) Those called *mungoma*, magicians proper, who have divinatory powers and can perform wonders, fight the baloyi, cause rain to fall, influence Heaven, etc., even if there has been no exorcism episode in their previous career.

4) Those whose principal qualification is the power to detect baloyi, and who are called for that reason *shinusa*, "smellers-out."

5) The bone-throwers *(ba-bula)*, whom we shall describe in Chapter IV.

The priests, *ba ku hahla*, do not enter into any of these categories, their specific activity being of a totally different character ; they have recourse to Religion and not to Magic.

3) Some Thonga Magicians.

On calling to mind the various magicians with whom I came in contact, I observe that very few limited themselves to the medical art alone ; *Sam Ngwetsa* and *Kokolo* alone did this. The aim of the magician is to combine as many branches of the business as possible. — *Mankhelu*, with his forked branch, was a medicine-man of the highest rank, owing to his calabashes containing a mixture of all the most powerful drugs, salted with Rivimbi's sea charms. He was a magician, being a rain-maker, a detector of baloyi, and, in particular, a successful bone-thrower, but he seemed to be entirely ignorant of the art of exorcism. — *Makasana*, on the contrary, a Thonga from the Leydenburg district, had acquired his power after passing through the ordeal of exorcism and had obtained the drugs of his exorcist. This had made him into a regular *mungoma*. Round his neck he wore three necklaces of half transparent yellow beads, between which were small square lizard-skin bags, timfisa, containing : 1) drugs against snake bites ; 2) charms against the baloyi ; 3) the *maringo ya tilo*, the charms of Heaven. Birds' claws and a crocodile's tooth also hung round his neck ; his hair was pulled out, the *tingoya* radiating in all directions, and in the very middle, on the top of his head, he wore a little chain, in the form of a narrow turban, to which a brass cartridge was fixed ; this was his snuff box, resting comfortably on his thick thatch! Possessing all these drugs Makasana was at the same time exorcist, witch-doctor, medicine-man, and magician of Heaven. The last qualification was perhaps his principal one ; he told me that he had to fight against his colleagues, who wished to test him by means of their own charms. — "At noon," he said, "when the sky is quite clear, I see a little cloud appearing over my head, quite black. The lightning bird is in it, and wants to kill me, having been sent by one of my enemies. Then I pour a little of the medicine of Heaven into the palm of my hand ; when I see the bird moving its wings and ready to rush down upon me, I blow a little of my drug towards the cloud and the bird will come and fall down powerless quite close to me. Then I take it, and cut

756 it in half. I take a little of the heart, and of the eyes, I crush the
791 bones, I make a powder with all these ingredients, and this is my great medicine. With one of the bones I make a flute ; I put a little powder into it, and, when a thunderstorm breaks, I go outside without danger and conjure the lightning by playing on my flute, etc." (p. 314).

Mathuza, the magician of Nondwane to whom I have just alluded, was essentially a detector of baloyi. — So was also *Ñwashihandjime*, the great Nkuna magician, a splendid creature, tall, his eyes beaming with a kind of supernatural light. I once saw him, after having performed the "smelling out" rite, point out a woman with the tail he always carried with him, an enormous tail fixed on a handle richly decorated with beads and copper wire.
[825] This tail, which is one of the most common attributes of the mungoma, is generally *a gnu tail*. It is said that when a mother gnu has dropped her offspring, she beats it (phyita) with her tail and thus gives the new-born gnu the necessary strength to walk and follow its mother. Hence the peculiar magic use of the gnu tail. In its very middle are hidden certain drugs which possess a revelatory virtue ; the magician puts his nose right amongst the hair before pronouncing his sentence and beating (phyita) the noyi. Ñwashihandjime is said to have disappeared from his village for months, and to have come back from the desert emaciated but full of new magical powers. I once tried to draw his attention to things more spiritual than his art and his drugs. He gazed at me with wild eyes, as if unable to follow my demonstration ; suddenly he emitted a cry very similar to a hiccough and turned his back.
[827] (Hiccoughing is a well-known symptom, showing either that one has been bewitched by "mitisa," or that one possesses magical power).

At the station of Shiluvane I once made an inventory of the charms of another Nkuna magician. In his hair the man wore a brass bracelet and some rings, and a necklace with a sixpence attached, all these objects having been inherited from his father, who was himself a mungoma ; moreover he hung round his neck a little piece of the skin of a goat, which had been sacrificed after the death of his father ; in this way he tried to acquire and keep

the power of his initiator and of his god. Two panther's claws were fixed on his head, pointing towards each other, as if they wished to catch something ; this helped him to go and seize (to ba) the wizard in the *vumisa* rite, which I shall now describe. Two empty goats' bladders swung amidst his crop of tingoya as he walked, an unmistakable sign that he had cured patients and received goats as a reward. The noise they made in hitting against each other "called other goats to come to him." From his neck hung two crocodile's teeth, a piece of buffalo's horn, "psiboho psa nga" — "that which ties me, viz., makes me firm ;" another horn which had been broken by a bullet and in which he kept the *nulu* medicine (p. 496), the root of a white sea-weed, used to produce the foam of the *gobo* rite in the exorcism, and a goat's horn full of a powder which cures the "burwa" disease. The burwa is the strong Westerly wind in Shiluvane (I. p. 18) which the baloyi are said to use for bewitching through the ears. He rubbed the patient with the horn and placed it near one ear, then near the other, and could cure the bewitched in that way. Another drug, called "rishwala," helped him to acquire many wives, and to have many children ; a cock's spur was also worn in order to give him "courage and weight." This mungoma, who called at Shiluvane on the 28th of June 1899, sold me a "kaross" (a rug) made of skins of rock rabbits, the work of the Ba Pedi, worth £ 6. He had earned it by the practice of his art.

I here give the picture of a true Ronga *gobela*, from Tembe, who once passed through Rikatla with two assistants ; he was on a tour to exorcise the possessed of the land. He had a terrifying appearance with all his military and magical attire, his big snake skins, and his gnu tail ; he hardly condescended to pronounce a word, maintaining all the time a most dignified demeanour. He was, before all else, an exorcist.

These few descriptions are sufficient to illustrate the composite character of the magicians. There is no end to their charms and their tricks, but they are certainly in earnest as regards the practice of their art, and are convinced that they are very useful and powerful personages.

III. *The Method of dealing with Wizards.*

754 All the power of the magicians is resorted to in order to check
756 the enchantments of the baloyi. Their drugs are used with two
791 objects, — protection and cure, the cure consisting mainly in the disclosure of the wizard.

1) Protective methods.

789 The village, as we have seen, (I. p. 311) is well protected with
754 *anti-baloyi drugs*. The fence itself, the main entrance and the threshold of the headman's hut, have been magically treated when first built. But the magician, when he thinks it necessary, "revives" the drugs by burning his powder in a little fire on the road which enters the village. This protects the main entrance, and he does the same at the threshold of the headman's hut. The smoke will keep the wizards away. Stones, daubed with the powder, are placed in all directions to close the openings.

"These medicines act wonderfully," says Mankhelu. "Should a *noyi* succeed in entering the hut, the power of the smoke will be such that he will at once be revealed. The *noyi* will suddenly be seen there without any clothing, apparently dreaming, seeing nothing, knowing nothing. If it is a woman, I shall call her husband and show him his wife... 'What are you doing here?' he will say to her. She will not utter a word. Then I shall say to him : 'Look here, my friend... I might be hard on you. But I have pity. Do not allow your wife to do anything of the kind again. Pay me one or two oxen, and I will keep silent.' He will consent. Then I beat the woman with my stick. She awakes, and, quite ashamed of being in another hut without any clothing, she will fly away home!" Such is the testimony of Mankhelu, and he is certain of having succeeded more than once!!

Mboza asserted to me that he had witnessed a similar case